

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 IO-11 SAM-01 ARA-06

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /093 W

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P R 091815Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3789

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAKAR 0792

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO, SG

SUBJ: DEPUTY ASST SEC BLAKE MEETS SENEGALESE FONMIN ON ANGOLA

REFS: (A) STATE 031037 (B) STATE 030983

1. SUMMARY: IN FEB 9 MEETING BLAKE ASSURED FONMIN SECK THAT US POLICY ON ANGOLA HAD NOT CHANGED DESPITE SOME REPORTS TO THE CONTRARY AND EXPRESSED HOPE USG WOULD CONTINUE HAVE BENEFIT OF GOS ANALYSIS, VIEWS AND PLANS WITH RESPECT TO WHAT IS STILL EVOLVING SITUATION. SECK SAID SENEGAL WOULD PERSIST IN OPPOSITION TO MPLA REGIME AND INDICATED CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE WERE CONTINUING. SECK FELT IDEOLOGICAL THRUST OF ANGOLAN PROBLEM POSED INDEPENDENT AFRICA WITH MOST DANGEROUS PROBLEM IT HAD YET FACED. HE FELT MANIFEST DIVISION BT ADDIS SUMMIT WAS BEGINNING OF DEEPENING CLEAVAGE. SECK SAID
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THERE WAS CONFLICT OVER DATE FOR FEBRUARY OAU COUNCIL OF

MINISTERS MEETING WITH MPLA SUPPORTERS ALSO ANXIOUS TO HOLD MEETING AS SCHEDULED TO PRESS FOR OAU RECOGNITION OF POLISARIO BEFORE SPANISH ROLE LEGALLY TERMINATED. SECK SAID SO-CALLED REVOLUTIONARIES WERE PRESSING THEIR CASE IN ALL AFRICAN COUNCILS, INCLUDING RECENT DAKAR SEMINAR OF UNION OF NEGRO-AFRICAN WRITERS WHICH REPORTEDLY PASSED RESOLUTION SUPPORTING MPLA. IN RESPONSE TO QUERY RE BASIS FOR NIGERIA'S RECOGNITION OF MPLA, HE SAID NIGERIAN DECISION REPRESENTED ATTEMPTED DIVERSION FROM SERIOUS INTERNAL SITUATION AND EFFORT TO PROJECT DIFFERENT EXTERNAL POLICIES THAN GOWON. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING FEBRUARY 9 CALL ON FONMIN ASSANE SECK, DEPUTY ASST SEC BLAKE INFORMED GOS THAT, DESPITE SOME REPORTS TO CONTRARY, THERE WAS NO CHANGE IN US POLICY TOWARD ANGOLAN QUESTION. WELCOMING BLAKE AS REPRESENTATIVE OF COUNTRY WITH WHICH SENEGAL HAD VERY FRIENDLY RELATIONS, SECK SAID SENEGAL WAS HIGHLY PREOCCUPIED WITH ANGOLAN PROBLEM, MORE SO THAN WITH ANY PREVIOUS AFRICAN POLITICAL ISSUE. HE SAID SENEGAL WOULD PERSIST IN ITS POLICY OF OPPOSITION TO IMPOSITION OF MPLA REGIME BY FOREIGN MILITARY COERCION, EVEN THOUGH OAU BALANCE WAS NOW 25 TO 21 IN FAVOR OF MPLA.

3. SECK DESCRIBED ANGOLAN SITUATION AS PERHPAS MOST DANGEROUS INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES HAD FACED. SENEGAL FELT THREATENED EVEN WITH RESPECT TO ITS INTERNAL POLITICAL OPTIONS BY IDEOLOGICAL NATURE OF SOVIET-CUBAN MILITARY THRUST IN ANGOLA. THIS WAS FIRST TIME IN OAU'S HISTORY THAT ISSUE POSED ON IDEOLOGICAL RATHER THAN AFRICAN NATIONALIST TERMS. (EARLIER MONROVIA AND CASABLANCA SPLITS, HE NOTED, HAD PREDATED OAU.) SENEGAL HAD HOPED STALEMATE AT ADDIS SUMMIT WOULD HAVE LED TO PEACEFUL SOLUTION, BUT IT HAD BECOME CLEAR THAT SO-CALLED RADICAL ELEMENTS WERE BENT ON PRESSING THEIR CASE.

4. FOLLOWING DEPT'S INSTRUCTIONS, BLAKE REITERATED US POSITION ON ANGOLA IN LIGHT OF REFTELS. BLAKE SUGGESTED GOS KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH EMBASSY WHICH WOULD ALWAYS BE IN POSITION PROVIDE AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT OF US POLICY IN CONTRAST TO REPORTS EMANATING FROM OTHER SOURCES, PARTICULARLY PRESS. SECK SAID GOS HAD NOT GIVEN CREDENCE TO GARBA INTERPRETATION. GOS FOLLOWED PRESIDENT'S AND SECRETARY'S STATEMENTS ON CONFIDENTIAL

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ANGOLA CLOSELY AND KNEW OFFICIAL POSITION WELL. UNFORTUNATELY, FACTS RE US POLICY AND HOW US POLICY APPEARED TO AFRICANS WERE TWO DIFFERENT THINGS. IT WAS NOT FOR GOS TO CRITICIZE POSITION OF US CONGRESS, BUT IT WAS CLEAR THAT, AFTER

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DAKAR 0792

OBSERVING CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES, TWO COUNTRIES (CAMEROUN AND SIERRA LEONE) HAD RECOGNIZED MPLA. SENEGAL WOULD CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR ITS PRINCIPLES, BUT IT SHOULD BE CLEAR THAT SITUATION NOW DEVELOPING IN AFRICA IS MENACE FOR EVERYONE. ANOTHER THREAT WAS THAT CUBANS WERE FINDING THEIR POLICY OF EXPORTING REVOLUTION, WHICH HAD BEEN REJECTED IN AMERICAS, VINDICATED IN AFRICA. HOWEVER, SENEGAL FELT THAT POSSIBLE SHIFT TOWARD SUPPORT OF MAJORITY OF OAU STATES FOR MPLA DID NOT MEAN THAT RIGHT AND REASON WAS WITH THAT POSITION; REGIMES SHOULD NOT BE IMPOSED BY FORCE OF ARMS.

5. SECK SAID HE FEELS NIGERIA IS TAKING MAJOR ROLE IN OFFENSIVE ON BEHALF OF MPLA BECAUSE IT NEEDS DIVERT DOMESTIC ATTENTION FROM INTERNAL PROBLEMS. CURRENT NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT ALSO FELT NEED TO PROJECT EXTERNAL POLICY SUBSTANTIALLY CHANGED FROM THAT OF GOWON REGIME. SECK FELT NIGERIA WAS TRYING TO
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TRANSLATE ITS SHEER MASS AS JUSTIFICATION FOR AFRICAN LEADERSHIP. HOWEVER, HE SAID, MOST MAKES FOR STRENGTH IN AFRICA IS NOT SIZE BUT QUALITY OF LEADERSHIP, ESPECIALLY AT CADRE LEVEL. RELATIVE TO ITS SIZE, NIGERIA DID NOT HAVE WELL QUALIFIED CADRE LEADERSHIP, BUT SENEGAL DID. SECK SAID ONE SHOULD NOT FORGET JAPANESE MODEL IN WHICH, IN ABSENCE OF MANY RESOURCES, INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY OF CADRES WAS USED TO MOVE COUNTRY INTO FOREFRONT OF WORLD'S NATIONS.

6. BLAKE INDICATED THAT US CONTINUED TO BE PREOCCUPIED WITH ANGOLAN PROBLEM AND WISHED TO CONTINUE CONTACT WITH GOS AND TO HAVE BENEFIT OF GOS ANALYSIS, VIEWS AND PLANS. SECK AGREED SUCH CONSULTATIONS WOULD BE USEFUL, AND HOPED ANGOLAN SITUATION WOULD NOT BECOME CATASTROPHE. HE SAID GOS WAS STILL HOPING FOR SOME SOLUTION, AND CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE WERE CONTINUING. HE SAID DIVISION MANIFEST DURING AND AFTER ADDIS ABABA SUMMIT WAS PROBABLY BEGINNING OF DEEPENING CLEAVAGE. HE NOTED THAT PROBLEMS HAD ALREADY ARISEN OVER WHETHER OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETING SHOULD TAKE PLACE AS SCHEDULED ON FEB 23 OR IN EARLY MARCH. MPLA SUPPORTERS ARE ANXIOUS TO HAVE MEETING AS SCHEDULED, BECAUSE OF SPANISH SAHARA AS WELL AS ANGOLA. WITH DATE OF JURIDICAL TURNOVER OF SAHARA BY SPAIN APPROACHING ON FEB 28, SECK BELIEVED THERE WOULD BE MOVE MADE TO HAVE OAU RECOGNIZE POLISARIO. HE FELT THERE WOULD BE LITTLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SIMPLE MAJORITY ON MPLA AND POSITION THAT GROUP WOULD TAKE ON POLISARIO. SECK SAID SO-CALLED REVOLUTIONARIES WERE PRESSING THEIR CASE IN ALL AFRICAN COUNCILS, CITING RECENT AFRICAN WRITERS CONFERENCE IN DAKAR WHERE PARTICIPANTS SOUGHT TO RAISE ANGOLAN AND OTHER ISSUES.

7. COMMENT: DAKAR 0536 REPORTED BACKGROUND ON UNION OF NEGRO-AFRICAN WRITERS (UENA), INCLUDING PRESIDENT SENGHOR'S CONCERN THAT ANGOLA WOULD BE RAISED BY NIGERIAN AUTHOR WOLE SOYINKA AT SEMINAR TAKING PLACE IN DAKAR FEB 4-6. DESPITE SENGHOR MEETING WITH SOYINKA WHICH TOOK PLACE JAN 28, LE SOLEIL REPORTED FEB 9 THAT AMONG MEASURES ADOPTED DURING SEMINAR WERE RESOLUTIONS ACCORDING "UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT" FOR MPLA, AS WELL AS SUPPORTING "OPPRESSED BLACKS" OF WEST PAPUA-NEW GUINEA (CF. DAKAR 0688) AND DEMANDING THAT LAGOS COLLOQUIM (CENTERPIECE OF BLACK ARTS FESTIVAL) BE HALD AS PLANNED (APPARENT REFERENCE TO DISPUTE OVER ARAB PARTICIPATION IN CONFIDENTIAL

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FESTIVAL). MEDIA INDICATE THAT UENA IS NOW PRESIDED OVER BY CONGOLESE WRITER FELIX TCHICAYA U TAMSI, WITH SOYINKA AS SECRETARY GENERAL (AND SENGHOR AS HONORARY PRESIDENT). AGGREY

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